New York Tribune

First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials—Advertisements

Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations

THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1919

Owned and published daily by New York Tribune Inc., a New York Corporation. Ogden Reid, President; G. Vernor Rogers, Vice-President; Helen Rogers Reid, Secretary; F. A. Suter, Treasurer. Address, Tribune Building, 154 Nassau Street, New York. Telephone, Beekman 3000.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—By Mail, including Postage: IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

	One Year.	Six Months.	Three Months.	One Month.
Daily and Sunday	$10.00	$5.00	$2.50	$1.00
Daily only	8.00	4.00	2.00	.75
Sunday only	3.00	1.50	.75	.30
Sunday only, Canada	5.00	2.50	1.25	.50
FOREIGN RATES				
Daily and Sunday	$24.00	$12.00	$6.00	$2.25
Daily only	18.00	9.00	4.50	1.50
Sunday only	8.00	4.00	2.00	.75

Entered at the Postoffice at New York as Second Class Mail Matter

GUARANTEE

You can purchase merchandise advertised in THE TRIBUNE with absolute safety—for if dissatisfaction results in any case THE TRIBUNE guarantees to pay your money back upon request. No red tape. No quibbling. We make good promptly if the advertiser does not.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Perils of Defining

The chief advocates of the covenant, driven from other positions, now seem to rest their case on the proposition that the executive council which it is proposed to establish will not have power, either legally or morally, to bring pressure on any constituent nation to agree to concerted action.

The council, it is pointed out, will consist in the permanent majority of its membership of delegates named by the governments of the five powers now dominant; each delegate will be recallable if he does not do as his home government instructs him to do, and thus in fact be merely an ambassador, without liberty of action, and that, even though he should temporarily misrepresent the government for which he appeared, his action may be disavowed by the home government. So, it is said, there is no merit in the contention that the covenant impairs national sovereignty.

Here, in brief, is what may be deemed the official interpretation of an ambiguous part of the covenant. Mr. Taft blurted it out, and *The World*, apparently not fully realizing what it implied, adopted it. *The World* declares there is nothing binding in the acts of the council and denies that even its recommendations, if it makes any, possess any moral sanction. The United States, it is said, gives, first, notice that it retains full liberty of action, and, second, other powers may be assumed to know of the character of our government and that its fundamental laws forbid a cession of its sovereignty.

The argument, it is scarcely necessary to remark, reduces the covenant to a nullity. The league, as so described, is without sanction, in this respect being a duplication of The Hague convention. Its machinery provides merely a central place where ambassadors may meet and talk if their home governments wish them so to do. What is done and is not done will be dictated elsewhere—by the foreign offices of the respective governments as now. Here, surely, is not anything resembling a league of peace as the phrase is understood

But it may be asked, Why, if this is all there is to the league, should any one object to it? The query is comforting to that body of our citizens who say: "Well, if the scheme does not do any good, it will not do harm. An expression of a pious hope is worth while sometimes." Nevertheless, even though it be true, as Mr. Taft and his co-workers practically now admit, that the covenant is but another Hague convention, it may do harm.

The lawyers have a maxim that when a problem is of a nature unkindly to definition it is wise to avoid definition. A partial definition limits and often is gravely embarrassing. The principle applies in the political field. For example, in our Revolutionary days things went well when no one exactly knew what powers were possessed by the Continental Congress, an informal body. It raised armies, borrowed money, entered into foreign alliances in the name of the nation. Then along came the Articles of Confederation, with some enumeration of powers, and affairs went ill. Objectors, formerly kept in order, pointed to some provision in the articles as forbidding something, and there was a dispute over legalities to the sacrifice of more essential matters.

John Fiske, the best of our historians, justly says that the half-defined articles of confederation weakened the national government. So it may turn out, if a crisis in world affairs arises, that the dispute will be over what the league may do, to the neglect of more pressing matters. If discretionary power is, in fact, to be left to future governments, it is well to have the responsibility plainly lodged with them.

The acceptance of a bogus plan will postpone the adoption of a genuine plan. The world has entertained high hopes of an organization for peace, and it is hard to give this hope up. Who has a right to say the world would not have received a better thing if offered? It is not yet too late to retrace steps and create an agency to which it may be worth while to surrender a portion of traditional national sovereignty. The covenant bars the possible attainment of a reality.

Finally, the argument in favor of the good in the expression of pious aspirations is offset by the feeling that support of a fraud seldom does good. The covenant, not being what it was advertised it would be, goes through the motions of doing something yet does nothing, and this and the dishonest way its false pretences have been exploited tend to make all internationalism seem ridiculous and dishonest. Surely this is no way to push the world on.

A Good Judge

New York City has been favored with many good judges, particularly in the Supreme Court. It has long been an established and well sustained rule that when such a judicial officer approaches the end of a full term the representative members of the bar, through their law organizations and otherwise, should endeavor to bring about his renomination and election, without regard to his party affiliations or any other partisan considerations. The recent unanimous action of the Bar Association of this city in the case of Justice Joseph E. Newburger, of the Supreme Court, affords a fine example of the proper application of this rule.

At the end of next December Judge Newburger will have held judicial office for twenty-eight years; first, in the City Court, then in the General Sessions, and for the last fourteen years in the Supreme Court. Although active in Democratic politics before he became a judge, he left that behind when he went on the bench and has been scrupulously impartial, fair and open-minded on political as well as other questions that have come before him judicially. His fine judicial work in the most difficult and important branch of the court, the equity side, has been especially noteworthy. When the Bar Association, at a largely attended meeting a few evenings ago, unanimously united in the opinion that "as a judge he has shown marked ability and has been exceptionally industrious and always painstaking, impartial and courteous," they have ascribed to him the highest attributes of a good judge.

The community cannot spare Mr. Justice Newburger from the bench. He should be renominated and reëlected by the concurrent action of all political parties.

The New Aviation

A short time ago aviation's goal was a flight across the English Channel; now it is a transatlantic flight. The motive is psychological rather than practical. It is not necessary to make the dangerous journey to demonstrate the commercial value of flying, but it is worth while to show the public that which will make it believe more readily in less hazardous, if more utilitarian, enterprise.

The world of aviation now appears to have centred its thought on the project. There is rivalry between England and America to determine which shall have the honor of being the first to accomplish the feat, and France is in the competition with a plan to fly from Africa to Brazil.

American army aviators may attempt the flight within a month, while a story comes from London that English pilots are actually on the way to Newfoundland to prepare for an attempt to fly from that island to Ireland. The reason for coming to this side is to take advantage of the wind, which at this season blows from west to east. From twenty to forty miles an hour can be gained in this way. There is also the possibility of rising high enough to take advantage of "the wind that blows between the worlds," which always carries eastward.

The British Sopwith 'plane is said to be capable of sustaining flight for twenty-five hours at 100 miles an hour. This, barring accidents, should more than suffice for the 1,923 miles between Newfoundland and Ireland.

In the mean time commercial aviation here apparently can make little progress without Congressional action. There can be little progress until regulations are provided and landing grounds set aside. These disadvantages do not apply to so large an extent along the coast, however, and there is a probability a coastal air service, carried on by means of seaplanes, will precede 'cross-country flying. This is forecast in the statement of North Willys, a capitalist interested in aviation. The same idea is advanced by Glenn Curtiss, in *The Forum*.

If we are to arrive at commercial aviation by the seaplane route the impetus to be derived from an America-to-Europe flight will be well worth the risk involved.

The Claims of Italy

The official statement of the Italian case as submitted to the Paris conference shows on what a slender foundation rests the propaganda which for some time has sought to make it appear that Italy is an imperialistic monster seeking to devour other peoples.

If there were rejoined to Italy all the territory taken from her in times past by enemy powers, which she now seeks to recover, Italy would then have relatively a smaller number of persons of foreign birth than any other country in Europe. In the Philippines and Porto Rico the United States has in segregated masses a much larger number of persons of alien stock than Italy will have should she get all sought by her most extreme expansionists.

It further appears that it is not possible to settle the matters in dispute by a strict application of nationality principles. If the Northern Trentino is left with Austria Italians will be put under the German flag. Likewise, if the Julian frontier is not ratified according to Italian desires many Italians will be separated from their fatherland. The same condition exists in Fiume and Dalmatia. The population is mixed. From necessity one or the other element must be favored.

A third strong argument for Italy is that Italy, all things considered, is the most crowded nation in Europe. This is shown by an emigration movement which has gone on for years. To gain a livelihood Italians are compelled to go elsewhere. A study of areas is misleading. Italy lacks coal and metals, and under her own flag has not the materials essential to rounded industrial development.

Back of the Italian demands it is easy to see a strong emotion. The issue to Italians is not wholly one of economics or of politics. Since the day of Alaric to recent years Italians have tasted the bitterness of subjection. Conquest after conquest has swept over them. For representatives and inheritors of these conquerors to tell Italians they must specially guard against imperialism and that it is wicked for them to hold a rood of alien territory seems inconsistent and hypocritical.

The Deportation Puzzle

To stay in this country all a Bolshevist needs do is to announce he is a German, Austrian, Russian, or belongs to one of the Balkan countries. The government cannot deport any citizen of a country with which this country is at war, nor send home a person to a country without a recognized government. If the United States were to recognize the Soviet government, it might then be possible to send the Russians home, but not now. Uncle Sam will feed and lodge the I. W. W.'s awaiting deportation, at a cost of about 25 cents a day per head.

Such is the ruling of the Immigration Department after a careful reading of the statutes and of the rules and regulations. Men who don't believe in any government, certainly not in our own, and to whom all bourgeois law is abhorrent, appeal to bourgeois law for protection and their petition is granted. Perhaps Commissioner Caminnetti has no other option, but it will be admitted, particularly by the undeported, as they take time to snicker, that the situation is absurd. Lincoln found a way to deport Vallandigham, in spite of his violent struggles to stay among peoples whose conduct he so much condemned, but there is now no Lincoln.

Even as to those deportable the Immigration Department seems to judge evidence queerly. Men were released who were members of an organization whose published creed proclaims principles contrary to our laws and governmental institution, on personal affidavits that they did not know what they had subscribed to. Perhaps they didn't, but it would seem stronger support for this opinion is necessary than is provided by affidavits of whose contents they may also be ignorant.

Back in the time of the Shays rebellion, when its convicted leaders applied to John Hancock, then Governor of Massachusetts, for pardon, Samuel Adams, the most democratic of the leaders of '76, opposed yielding to the petition. "In monarchies," he said, "the crime of treason may admit of being pardoned, or lightly punished, but the man who dares to rebel against the laws of a republic ought to suffer death." A law which represents the declared will of a majority, and which can be changed in an orderly way as the public will changes, is surely on a different footing from a law which rests on the will of an individual or a class. Yet it is commonly assumed that because a man has a right to rise against an autocratic government he has an equal right to rise against a democratic one. A great literature has grown up in this country based on this false assumption.

Our Herman Kleins

Mary Roberts Rinehart into one of her latest serials injects a bit of propaganda for Americanization. One of her characters is Herman Klein, foreman in a factory that becomes a munition and shell plant. Here is her picture of him:

"There had been, once, in Herman Klein, the making of a good American. He had come to America, not at the call of freedom, but of peace and plenty. Nevertheless, he had possibilities.

"Taken in time he might have become a good American. But nothing was done to stimulate in him a sentiment for his adopted land. He would, indeed, have been, for all his citizenship papers, a man without a country but for one thing.

"The Fatherland had never let go. When he went to the Turnverein it was to hear the old tongue, to sing the old songs. Visiting Germans from overseas were constantly lecturing, moulding before him the vision of Great Germany. He saw motion pictures of Germany; he went to meetings which commenced with 'Die Wacht am Rhein.'

"He had been adopted by America, but he had not adopted America, save his own tiny bit of it. He took what the new country gave him, with no faintest sense that he owed anything in return beyond his small yearly taxes. He was neither friendly nor inimical."

Such men as Herman Klein cannot be transmuted into Americans by the mere process of teaching them to read and write. They already know how to do that. Education for the illiterate foreigner is desirable and necessary, but the Americanization of the literate presents a different and more difficult problem.

A beginning will have been made when public opinion finds a way to instruct, not so much the Herman Kleins as the men of American birth and lineage who have been infected with various made-in-Germany philosophies, tastes and arguments. It was well to understand the painstaking thoroughness of German science and scholarship, but its general principles and tendencies are vicious and poisonous. These distillates filter down and the Herman Kleins are confirmed in the opinion, which they are ready enough to entertain, that Germany is best.

Camera lenses of American make can photograph objects invisible to the human eye, it is announced. A picture of a vacant seat in the subway or a portrait of a telephone operator who always gets one the right number are now possibilities.

The Conning Tower

AD UNIVERSITATEM

Here's to good old Yale, drink it down, drink it down!
Here's to good old Yale, drink it down, drink it down!
Here's to good old Yale, for she's out to cop the kale,
Drink it down, drink it down, drink it down!

The Yale Corporation, however, will permit the University to retain the Greek of Aristophanes that renders its yell distinguished.

And "Lux et Veritas" on the shield will continue to shine from the Yale escutcheon.

MUTATION

Time was when I could touch the lyre
In such a snippy, snappy way,
That sparks of my poetic fire
Were real hot stuff—hey, F. P. A.?

I used to find them often there—
My labored ode, my trifling lay—
The Tower was part of my affair
Before the war—hey, F. P. A.?

But as I've said—Time was. My charm
May all have flown quite, quite away,
For now I'm working on a farm:
Rube wits are dull—hey, F. P. A.?

And he who once admired my flowers
Has changed a lot—so people say:
He wears a gatling and he glowers!
I'll bet 'tis false—hey, F. P. A.?

O you who boss The Conning Tower,
We both have changed since Yesterday:
You vision armies, guns of power;
I wheat, corn, oats, hay, F. P. A.?

So if this pome is never inked,
Shall I blame him, the Boss?—Nay, nay!
My judgment may be kind of kinked,
But never his—hey, F. P. A.?

THESPITES.

"Regarding the voluntary withdrawal of any nation from the League," said Lord Robert Cecil yesterday, "there is much to be said on both side of the question." If there were only two sides, the question would be simple. But the theory is a polyhedron; and most of the people who are coping with the problem have not advanced beyond plane geometry.

Lord Cecil's remark makes one think of Abe Potash, who, concerning the Freedom of the Seas, said: "Sure I know, Mawruss, there's a whole lot to be said on both sides by people which don't know neither side."

Grave Without Victory.

[From the Fayetteville (N. C.) Observer]

Mr. J. M. Rogers, undertaker of this city, has now for the use of the public a very handsome costly hearse, said to be the handsomest and most costly save one in the State.

One may have one's associations. Senator Lodge we shall always think of as the man who was responsible for the wide dissemination of "The Education of Henry Adams"; and President Lowell always appears to us as Amy's brother.

It occurs to A. C. that our Congress can't do anything without Mr. Wilson, while the Peace Conference can't do anything with him.

Yes, Prunella, a casual officer is so termed because of the way he treats the uniform regulations.

BLESS THEM!

A man I like — One of my trial's
Is Peter Huzz; — Professor Herman,
He says, "I'll smoke — He's anti-British,
My own." . . . And does. — But not pro-German.
G. K. W. — A. E. B.

My bonnet's off — I give three cheers
To Mike McGobb; — For Wilfred Blunt;
He gave a soldier — When he gets in a car
Back his job. — He moves up front.
27TH. — W. S. F.

A wench I like — The girl I like
Is Mary Tootly; — Is Susan Tysem;
She never ends — She sells War Savings
With "Absolutely." — Stamps . . . and buys 'em.
JEAN. — E. B. T.

A good old scout — This bard is strong
Is Harold Seitz; — For Kaplan, Izzy;
He says, "All right, — He says, "Well, Boss,
I'll bite." . . . And bites. — I see you're busy."
H. V. B. — F. P. A.

Subsolar Novelty, discovered by Childe Roland: *The Capricious Dress Waistcoat.* On searching for it in the "third drawer, chiffonier, under your shirts," as directed, no trace of it can be found, nor is it in any other drawer, nor in the clothes closet. When you summon your wife to look for it, it suddenly appears in the third drawer, chiffonier, under your shirts.

Things in Russia might be worse. A not inconsiderable percentage of the world's robbers and murderers prefer the comparative safety and lucrativeness of our fair, especially to yeggmen, city.

The foes of nicotine might try to engage the services of Mr. George Ade, who, in the brave days of old, used to write advertisements for No-To-Bac.

The alumni of Hamilton College are counting on Hamilton's most illustrious son, the Hon. Elihu Root, to keep the class in Class Day.

The Complete Letter Writer

[Received by a New York skirtorium]

Dear Gentlemen:

As a point of information make explicit the requirement for the following.

I have 15 years experience as a cutter and vouche, I am accurately active, namely, as a skirt man, my ability in short, I can fill any vacancy from designing down.

I am now working in an open shop, as first cutter, to make short, my every day function, mark by standard size pattern, figure estimates, sketch, cut and supervise cutting department. But Im aware of the fact, as a member of your union, and employed in your city, I can better myself worth talking.

It being my desire to accomplish the above, I beg your advice as you know best.

Your immediate attention will greatly oblige

"I sought out the man," cyrils Eddie Hungerford in the Red Cross Magazine, "whom they told me was attempting a solution of the problem."

No more Latin required to enter Yale!

Eheu fugaces! F. P. A.

ARMS AND THE MAN

"Every German we killed is a loss to us. What right have we to give ourselves moral airs and demand further punishment of the losers in this hideous starvation match?"—G. Bernard Shaw in "The New York American."

The Peace Show

By Chester M. Wright

PARIS, March 15.—You have to procure a pass to get into the Hotel de Crillon, in Paris, where the American peace delegation has its headquarters—that is, if you want to get beyond the cigar counter in the lobby. It is a building that covers a whole square block. It is the home of the American government abroad. Here are all the American commissions and the American members of the international commissions. Every office that knows its own importance gets an orderly and a clerk, or several of them, from the army. The Signal Corps has installed a complete telephone system in Paris, connecting everybody with everybody else. If you want to connect with any of the scores of American peace mission offices you don't have to parley voo with a French operator. You use one of the American 'phones, if there's one handy, or you call over the French lines and say "Elysée Palace," or if you can't do that you merely say "Americaine" and you'll be connected toot sweet with an operator who says "Number, please?" in perfect New Yorkese. Young women operators who belong to the Signal Corps work the switchboards.

* * *

Plenary sessions of the peace conference are at once the delight and the despair of the correspondents. They are the delight because the conference has been thoughtful enough to provide a complete typed report of the whole debate or discussion. These are the only sessions of anything in Paris where care is taken to see that the newspapers get a report. In practically all the other sessions care goes in the opposite direction. But the plenary sessions are also the despair of the correspondents because they feel that what is said here is more or less "stage stuff," while the real decisions and heart-to-heart discussions take place in a guarded atmosphere.

* * *

How do the correspondents get the news in Paris? Not from the official communiqués. Once in a while a communiqué has news in it, but usually about all you get out of a communiqué is either a tip that must be developed or a bit of last week's news. The communiqués register in painfully abbreviated form what has been accomplished. Any reader who will try to recall a half-dozen communiqués that he has read in the paper will see how small they loom in the news of the day. That means that correspondents have to go elsewhere for news. There are a number of branches, lateral and subterranean, to the peace conference. There are committees and commissions. Each issues its communiqué. And these communiqués only go to show what an unsuspected number of persons there are in the world who can make the English language meaningless—including the word "communiqué" itself.

* * *

However, where there are people gathered together there can be found some one who will talk. And not only are there those in Paris who are willing to talk, but there are those whose business it is to talk. Every nation has its spokesman who can be "induced" to talk at the right time. Colonel House is generally conceded to be the great moulder of public opinion in the American mission. He talks little for quotation, but he "indicates" and "lets it be known," and so on. He thinks this would be well or that would be inadvisable. In his fatherly Texas way he does a great deal of which the man on Rural Route No. 9, Somewhere in America, never suspects him. If it's not in the communiqué, ask Colonel House. He may tell you who can tell you.

* * *

Stephen Pichon can mostly be relied upon to speak up for the French when there is need. It is generally the opinion that the French talk more freely than the other diplomats. This is probably true, yet the British, their reputation for silence to the contrary notwithstanding, are communicative. There are several men in the British entourage who make it a business to address the American correspondents at regular intervals. The Americans have the reputation of being the hardest of all to pry loose from information. There seems to be no American in Paris who can or will talk with the authority and freedom of Lord Robert Cecil, for instance, speaking for the British. or M. Pichon, speaking for the French, or any one of a dozen other men who speak for them.

* * *

There has been organized in Paris a press club, where the visiting newspaper men may go and take their ease. And every so often there are dinners for the foreign writers at a certain club, where the food is good and the setting is restful. The French are hosts here always. There are little talks by those who have come to Paris from other lands. They give their views. They unburden. They get it off their chests. There may be no design, but how more adroitly could the general trend of foreign newspaper thought be watched?

* * *

An argument that may never be settled is that concerning the President's attitude toward the Socialist conference at Berne. For some days the report was spread by men understood to be close to the President that he favored the conference. On the other hand, men equally in a position to know whatever the President had said declared that he had not indicated any sentiment favorable to the conference. There is some reason to believe that the President did not at first fully understand the nature of the Berne conference. If he did ever have any feeling of friendliness for the venture it may have been in the early days of its history. A delegation appointed at Berne to report to the President did not report. The reason for this is not known. Arthur Henderson held at least two conferences with Premier Lloyd George prior to the Berne meeting and the British delegation had an audience with him after its return from Berne.

* * *

You can hear any kind of story you want in Paris, because men and women of all kinds and from every corner of the world are gathered here. In the fringe of the official show are those who have come to offer their advice, those who haye come because they want to see the performance, those who have come "free lancing" it as writers, those who have come just because they can't keep away from what's doing as long as they can rake up the price of steamer fare. The Americans in this fringe are mostly radicals—of all kinds. There are straight, clean cut radicals; there are pro-Bolsheviks, there are those whose record is strongly tinged with pacifism. The strongest of the New York radical publications are represented by writers who delight in telling everybody in Paris how shamefully wrong everything is in America.

The Teacher Shortage

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: An appeal is made to married women and to others who have been public school teachers to supply the shortage of teachers. But under the existing rules they can serve only as substitutes at the munificent sum of $3 a day. One married woman who has been out of the school room less than three years has been placed on the list of substitutes and given immediate work, but she cannot continue long on her pittance. Why can't the school board amend the rules regarding married women so as to permit them to serve as regular teachers, or at least raise the salaries of substitutes so as to attract and hold them in the ranks?

MARRIED WOMAN.

New York, March 10, 1919.

Kultur

(From The Dallas News)

At this distance it looks like a Spartacide is a Bolshevik who has read a book.

Standing and Riding

(From The Detroit News)

Don't put in too much time standing on dignity or riding a hobby.

Other People's Money

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Thank you heartily for the editorial "Other People's Money." Have wondered why nothing has been said on this very important matter. Some more would be profitable. Why should not our bill be presented in full; then if the people (not Wilson) through the Congress choose to cancel it we will know what it all means?

EDWIN FERRIS.

Montclair, N. J., March 15, 1919.

Justice for Firemen

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The Blakely bill, now before the Legislature, giving the city firemen an eight-hour working day is a bill in the interest of justice, and should become a law.

Good government does not take the head of the family away from the home twenty out of the twenty-four hours of the day.

GEORGE J. S. DOWLING.

Brooklyn, March 15, 1919.

Nothing But Water

(From The Boston Transcript)

The courts will soon be telling us if the bone-dry law will hold water.

The Berne Fiasco

New York Tribune Foreign Press Bureau

European press opinion seems unanimous in putting down as a total failure the International Socialist Conference at Berne. "The Manchester Guardian," generally friendly to radicals, says that "the conference was not what it was meant to be," namely, "a German demonstration under an international cloak in support of a German reading of President Wilson's view and intentions." In fact, it turned out to be "a demonstration of the futility of these tactics."

Alfred Capus says in "Le Figaro":

"From the famous international Socialist conference, it was announced with much noise, a new world was to issue. It is difficult to imagine a fiasco more lamentable. The Socialists of all countries, of both the majority and minority shade, foregathered at Berne to merge their ideas into a whole. The sum total was nil. The German Socialists had a plan, but they had no ideas. The French Socialists thought they had ideas, but they had no plan. The rest had neither plans nor ideas. From time to time an amateur of scandals raked up a few atrocities, in order to stir up the discussions a little. At the end of the last session there was not a soul left in the conference hall, and the Socialists took their respective trains home with exactly the same ideas which they had brought with them, no more and no less.

"This failure has made manifest to everybody the intellectual and political weakness of socialism. The doctrine did not hold ground before the events; it suffered shipwreck in the war by running up against the national instincts which it had left out of account altogether. . . .

"The Socialists thought that the socialist idea towered above all peoples and races and that it was destined to reunite them one day in an ideal society. There is no remedy to this error. One cannot play with peoples, with their conditions of life and their traditions, and humanity, like nature, has its laws. If some dreamer finds that the principle of Archimedes has done its duty and is obsolete, all he has to do is to fall into the river. Similarly, experience in human affairs cannot be set at naught with impunity."

The disillusionment of the German press in regard to the Berne conference is voiced by the "Frankfurter Zeitung," which says:

"Little was said of the colonial question that is so near to the heart of us Germans. The resolution (of the conference) demands 'protectorates' under the Society of Nations. Ramsay MacDonald, who admitted the validity of the resolution in regard also to Ireland and Egypt, invoked the London Memorandum of the Entente Socialists of February, 1918, which admits the return of the German colonies to Germany, or a just exchange for them, and leaves the rest of the settlement to the Society of Nations. Was it merely lack of time that kept German colonial demands so much in the background? . . . After all, Berne is not Paris, and in the countries of Western Europe the Socialists have not—or not yet—much to say. Perhaps their time may come. But we should like to know what the new International thinks of doing in case the Paris peace conference takes no account of the fine resolutions adopted in Berne. About that we have not read a word. Is the conference merely a beautiful gesture on the part of Socialist leaders, or will the masses, whom they lead, back them up with heart and fist? That is the question."

The "Münchener Neueste Nachrichten" puts its disappointment into the admission that "the importance of the conference is, it must be, mainly of the moral kind at present. . . . The Socialist conference possessed no means of translating its resolutions into deeds. The fate of the world is being settled rather at Paris than in Berne. . . ."

One Way Left Out

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: There is one principle which, if adopted by the Paris Conference, would insure the perpetual peace of the world and would open the way for a league of nations based on justice and the common rights of all as advocated by President Wilson—the universal abolition of the doctrine of conscription. H. GARDNER M'KERROW.

New York, March 16, 1919.

In the Divided Newspaper

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Please include the editorial page in the "female section," and oblige.

A HOME CONSUMER.

Troy, March 16, 1919.